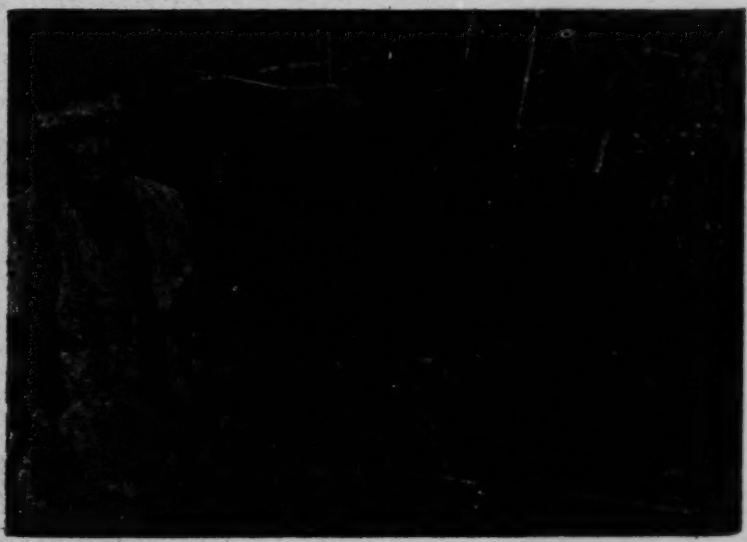
3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29



Web-puk'-in and Ne'-we-un showing the interior of a Yokuts tule-thatched house and a bed. A shallow pit is filled with loose tules and covered with a tule mat. Covers consist of a doubled rabbit-skin blanket. Hanging from the house frame is a twined and a tule chawmish, or all-purpose hanging baskets. The large basket at the left shows kots, or obsidian arrow point. The one at the front right shows quail, arrow point and ants.

and meats and fish were suspended from the framework of the house overhead. In addition to these things was the usual collection of wild animal skins, prepared basketry materials, fiber for making string, and any amount of other raw materials from which were to be prepared the various articles necessary to the life of the Indians.

"At every permanent village occupied by two or three hundred Indians, there were probably from four or five to as many as a dozen of these larger semi-permanent houses. They were used for ten or twelve years, or until there was a death in the family, at which time the Indians burned the house in which the death occurred."

Often a sick or aged person was carried outside to die, so that it would not be necessary to burn the house. In 1937, *Ichow*, last Chief of the *Wukchumne*, died of dropsy after several days of exposure under a broiling July sun, because he

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
NS29 Yokuts NS29

105 184 permanent villages from which people moved seasonally or for brief periods to obtain particular products, the internal importance of family, extended family and lineage, the cross-cutting of villages by a moiety organization which provided chieftainship, village exogamy and a tendency towards moiety exogamy — in these and other respects there appears little diference between the Tachi and their eastern neighbors. Undoubtedly full information would show some differences in detail. For example, it appears likely that Tachi women contributed less to the food supplies than did the women of acorn using tribes, but this does not appear to be reflected in the social roles.

182 619 It would seem, therefore, that the lake ecology, different though it may appear, supports similar social conditions to those of the acorn [621] using tribe In each case the pattern is that of the permanent village with some hundreds of people who are able to get the bulk of their subsistence within a relatively restricted area supplemented only by [361] periodic or seasonal absences. The close proximity of settlements in [162] each case, the relatively high density of population with respect to major resource areas, the seasonal fluctuation in availability and location of major resources, all favor the existence of mechanisms for settling or preventing intra-tribal disputes and possible conflicts with [616] similar neighboring groups. The moiety organization cut across the village organization, contributing to the cohesiveness of the tribe as well as providing a mechanism for diffusing power and for the selection of chiefs. The equatibility of moieties among various Yokut tribes perhaps also contributed to stable intertribal relationships. A similar [574] function was served by the sharing of common resources in some cases, and by the exchange of hospitability in connection with religious ceremonials.

182 616 It appears to us at present, however, that the moiety is not essential to the functioning of social systems under either lake or valley [194] conditions. The northern Yokuts lack moieties and they are absent among other linguistic groups occupying similar environments.

182 231 Our conclusion is that substantially different ecological adaptations may be associated with quite similar social organizations providing the possibility of similar groupings of people exist. In the present instance both the lake and the acorn adaptations provide relatively abundant and reliable food supplies within limited areas, permitting the forming of fairly large and fairly stable communities. It is this fact, rather than a direct ecological relationship, which has permitted

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

sented me with some fish which I gratefully received. The Indians asked permission to catch ducks for the soldiers, and in less than half an hour within my sight, they caught many with snares which they had in the lake.

The land over which we have come is saline and miry, without any pasture for the horses.

Soon the natives all were reunited and returned to live on their land without fear of any injury the troop might do them. I left at 6 A.M. [Tuesday, Oct. 26] from this site of the Lake of Bubal for the great plain, going toward the south to go around it, and at a distance of 6 leagues to the east went toward the arroyo of San Cayetano. This I reached and followed as far as the first foothills of the Sierra Nevada in search of water and pasture. In the cañon called by the natives Agspa [the present Alpaugh?] I found it at 6:30 P.M. Made camp, having arrived with the horses and mules considerably dejected. They had not eaten for three days including today, and from necessity had walked 16 leagues over salty, loose, soil; because of this I had left 3 exhausted horses and 1 mule in the arroyo. At 11 P.M. they were reunited with the herd.

Wednesday, 27.—At sun-up I examined the cañon that forms this arroyo, with the spyglass. It is called San Cayetano by Lieutenant Don Gabriel Moraga, and Agspa by the natives [copy of Nov. 19: whose rancheria was found farther in, and the people at the fiesta at Buenavista]. It is filled with oaks, live oaks, poplars, and willows, and sufficient wild plants. Very good water runs through it for the distance of 1 league, and [there is] pasture in abundance. Therefore it appears that the herd will recover today. Those that came on the expedition of 1806 did not say it was so wide nor so covered with trees at that time. [Copy of Nov. 19: Judging by the appearance of the rancheria, it is composed of 400 souls of both sexes and (all) ages.]

Thursday, 28.—Left at 6 A.M., taking a northerly direction, and at 9 A.M. entered the arroyo of Coyaipich [Koyeti?], at a distance of 4 leagues. It was named San Pedro by Moraga in 1806. I saw two Indians, who were followed and overtaken. They spoke to me when their fear left, and they conducted me to the rancheria of the same name. Their captain, Tuekal, told me that several days before they had received news of my coming from the Tache. The night before they had been watching us until the troop began to catch the horses and saddle them. Knowing that they had no Christians among them I put aside their fears, and informed them as I had done the refugees from the missions, that they could return. The number of people composing this rancheria must be about 200 of both sexes and all ages. [Copy of Nov. 19, Notes: The Indians are of good appearance and physiognomy, seem docile. Their dialect is the same which my interpreter Antonio, neophyte at Mission Soledad, speaks.]

I followed the same direction to the east [copy of Nov. 19: Started for the San Gabriel river with two guides from this rancheria] guided by two natives of Coyaipich, and I crossed the intervening plain to the entrance of the Gran Roblar, which is 8 leagues. I encountered the Rancheria of Choijnocko [Choinok?] at the sides of an arroyo that had a little water in small

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

pools. [Copy of Nov. 19: According to the size of it, it should show the number of 300 souls. . . . Their dialect is like that of Tukal.] Their captain and the greater part of the inhabitants, they told me, were at Chischa, 8 leagues away.

I continued eastward and reached a deep arroyo, where I found two huts with Indians. They came out to receive me, one of them being the captain of Chischa [Jonsps]. With his brother, wife, and other relatives he had retired this afternoon to weep during the night for the death of their relatives [copy of Nov. 19: two brothers and six sisters], since on the following day they would all celebrate, and various rancherías had been invited to the fiesta. He and his relatives helped to give water to the horses, since it was already 6 P.M.

[Copy of Nov. 19, Notes: From this point (Coyaipich) to the weeping place of Jonsps, Captain of Chischa, and from there to his ranchería, as to that of Telame, and as far as the edge of the Roblar, the land is admirable for its fertility, although rough because of its virginity. With its moisture, it only invites all to its cultivation to give abundant crops of wheat, grains, corn, and all the legumes, as long as it is irrigated. And the waters of San Gabriel can easily be carried in case of necessity. The pasture remains green and dry the year around. The woods are oaks of various species, willows, and poplars; there are some wild plants in the level parts, and in the arroyo and bogs. Moreover there abounds a shrub that they call wild hemp, very white and strong, of which the natives make their nets for fishing and (which) we (use) for sewing our shoes. Some of it is so fine it serves for sewing clothes.

The dialect is the same. The sustenance which they have is of acorns, very savory wild grain, and different kinds of seeds which this country naturally produces with great abundance. The river has several kinds of tasty fish, the little pools and arroyos a kind of anchovy which the Indians catch and dry in large quantities to keep for the rigorous times of winter. And they have pine nuts which they gather in the mountains.]

Having had news from the Choynocos that there was a Christian from San Miguel among them at the fiesta, and that they had two horses, I spoke to Jonsps. He immediately sent to tell the captain of the Choynocn to come, and to bring the Christian and horses. He [the captain] arrived at 10 P.M. with him and with a horse, begging me in his name and those of the other captains to forgive him. [He said] that they all invited me with his people to pass tomorrow at the fiesta which the captain of Chischa, Jonsps, was making. I accepted, and he returned at midnight to Chischa, 3 leagues away from Choinoco.

The two rancherías [copy of Nov. 19: three] that I have seen today all had their women and children hidden, but after they were informed that no priest accompanied me, they came out and presented themselves.

Friday, 29.—At 6 A.M. started the march to the north edges of the Sierra [along the foothills?] accompanied by the native captain, Jonsps, going to his Ranchería of Chischa where the reunion for the funeral celebration was to take place. Arrived at 8 P.M. There came out to receive me 7 captains from

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

various parts, of which 2 were Telame, be of Choynoco, and 4 from other rancherías of the Roblar in the vicinity of the mountains. They begged me to come and see them all. I made suitable precautions without letting it be known, casually dispatched my horse, and accompanied by two interpreters directed myself first within the ranchería of these Chischeses. They pressed upon me various dishes of atoles and pinoles, which I tasted in order not to offend them, and they were satisfied. I counted 437 able-bodied young men in the walk I took, and about 600 women and children all placed before this village. Across the front of the ranchería I counted 358 double paces [*pasos dobles*] which makes 624 yards [*varas*], and across its back 432 paces or 756 yards in the form of an imperfect half moon. All [the houses] are of mats and willow branches. In front of the ranchería were the guests, all separated, where I directed myself along with the captains who accompanied me. Each of them were in little groups; thus men, women, and children were presented to me, and it was not possible to count them as I had done with the Chischas. However, the number of young men was not less than 600, and some 200 young women.

When I walked behind the Ranchería of Chischa I immediately came upon the arroyo which was near by. On its banks, I found more than 100 middle-aged women washing seeds for the atoles of the guests, while other younger ones were grinding these seeds on stones as is their custom [copy of Nov. 19: with large baskets of thick acorn mush].

[Copy of Nov. 19, Notes: Of the Ranchería of Chischa nothing was known until now. Its people, and those of their neighboring friends who were found assembled, presented in number some 2400 persons, all of comely appearance. Their number should be greater, judging by the scarcity (*cortedad*) of people seen, not counting the young people who were no doubt hiding in the willows which encircle the neighborhood of the river. This was proved when the sergeant of the rear-guard party saw more than 200, women, lads, little girls and boys, come out from the river edge beside it to look at us, and told me of it in a moment.

Of the population of natives who inhabit the Roblar, and from there along the Sierra to the Ranchería of Apalame, there are, or there ought to be more inhabitants in it. The number of people which I calculate could be Christianized is from 5 to 6 thousand, little more. This is from the rancherías of the lakes and rivers.]

After finishing my walk with the captains, I made known to them all the objects and ends of my coming. They assured me that they had among them no more Christians than that one from Choinoco who had been brought to me, nor had any come to Chischa. Thus neither their captain Jousps nor his people had ever seen troops, this being the first time that they had reached them. Though long ago some passed below [this was Don Gabriel Moraga in his reconnaissance made in 1806], they only heard of it through their friends from Telame. Jousps and the other captains wished to trade with us, save that we lived very far from them, and that they could not cross [the valley]

769 meat, venison (*venados*), and antelope (*? berrendos*) that there are in abun-
262 dance, flour and mush, concluded by paying them all with beads and baskets, and they left for their homes.]*

648 They offered to care for the horses, and [said] that if I wished to leave some of them during our interval and return for them, they would maintain them as the Telames had done before [for Moraga?]. I excused myself in good style and turned toward the west for Telame [Telamni]. I arrived there [887] at 6 P.M., having left at 2:30, and walked from the retreat of the captain of [361] the Chiechas 8 leagues. In this ranchería [of Telame] I found 14 old women [437] and 9 old men who were not at the fiesta. One of them sent me a pullet [*polla*] to sup upon [copy of Nov. 19: for which I sent back some corn flour]. Telame is distant from Chiecha nearly 5 leagues, to the west, and from where I slept, 9.

648 *Saturday, 30.*—At 5 A.M. left for the Rancheria of Tontache with guides
797 which the Indians gave me. At different times we took routes to the east, northwest, and south because of the many arroyos, tule-filled lakes, and [133] sloughs of muddy water which there are in this great Roblar. From this we got out at 2 P.M and went west as far as the San Gabriel River. We reached the place of La Cruz at 4 P.M., having gone 13 leagues. At 5 o'clock 4 Indians of Tontache came bringing fish and ducks, and invited me to go to their rancheria in the morning. For although their captain and the greater part of the people were at Buenavista [for the fiesta], the few who remained wished to receive the troop and to know me, as they had learned of us from the Indians of Soledad.

Sunday, 31.—After having told the rosary I left at 7 A.M. for Tontache, [361] leaving the burdens in camp, and arrived at 9, at a distance 3 leagues to the west. I found it situated on the side of Lake Bubal [Tulare Lake] [copy of Nov. 19: on fairly muddy land which could not be traversed on horseback]. [162] I entered it with only one soldier and two interpreters and counted 103 comely young men, all with bows and arrows, and some 200 souls among the old men, old women, and children. They delivered up to me two Christians from San Miguel, and they sent in search of three that had retreated to the interior of the lake among the tules. They begged me to pardon them, for they were all either their sons or brothers. I exhorted them not to detain any Christian in the future even though he were a relative. At the time I was taking my leave I had notice from an Indian who came from Buenavista that Lieutenant Moraga had arrived there four days before, and that he could do nothing as the Indians had scattered into that lake. And that the people invited [to the fiesta] had also retreated from fright, and he had come to tell the news to their relatives. At about 12 P.M. I returned to camp and reached it at 2 P.M. The ground is sticky, salty and much under water.

These Indians corroborated the fact that they had knowledge of my leaving Soledad through the Tacho Indians and that I would come through this country. But believing themselves to be without fault they had remained

* It appears that Estudillo obtained this description perhaps from an interpreter, as he was not, according to the continuing entry, an eyewitness.

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[797] tonto; Coytisa, a captain of the Gumilchi [Wimilichi]; Guchita [copy of Nov. 19: Guchaita], and Hocha, captains of Guchetema; and Guchalne, captain of Tategüi. To them it was made known that my coming was by order of the great [648] captain, to catch all the Christians that the natives were sheltering, and to [622] punish them if they were bad and hostile to the troop. All the Indians at once [201] put their hands in their mouths, and the captains drew near me and replied that the Nontos would not consent to sheltering th[illegible]nd sent them off immediately. [Copy of Nov. 19: And they began to cry to me "Amica, Amica, Amica, noche," which is to say, "Come, come, come, friend."] At Tategüi two from Soledad named Oton and Estevan had arrived, and as its captain already knew of my coming he ordered them to present themselves to me before I came among the Nontos. It had been done, and he [†] delivered them to the Tache captain, Mariano Tiesar, who had returned to the mission with all of the Christians together.

I reprehended the boldness of sending the Indian Manuel Pinto to me to inquire what I wished, when through their envoy to Tache I had ordered them to do otherwise [†], and much more that he should have advised me to wait an interval, and that they should do nothing to any of the troop or there would be dire results. They all answered that they desired to placate us and questioned what and how they could do it, and regretted that I should have thought otherwise. With that I showed pleasure, and they began to bring me fresh fish and other presents. These I would not take as I had nothing to return, and made the same excuse as at Chischa.

Before going into the ranchería I had taken the precaution to see that the [162] corporal, Sebastian Rodriguez, would count the people as they were lined up, knowing that I would not be able to do it. He did so and counted 303 robust men. Of women there were only old ones, thus proving that they were hidden. Very few children were present, and these only after being with them for some time.

After being in Notonto two hours I continued to march toward the west [copy of Nov. 19: went eastward] and crossed Kings River at 4 P.M. . . . It is 4 leagues away from Notonto, and to the point of its outlet, 11 leagues. I camped for the night on its banks after making suitable precautions against Indians that might be near.

Thursday, 4.—At 5 A.M. took a route toward the west until 10, when I came out of the Roblar and entered the plains. Thence north for the tular of San Pablo, where I arrived at 4 P.M. having gone fifteen leagues from where I slept [133] [copy of Nov. 19: from Notonto]. This site is in the middle of the plain. It is without firewood; we had to bring a load from the mouth of the marsh. The water is in great holes. On this plain a deer was caught by lasso, and the men supped on fresh meat.

Friday, 5.—I was informed by an Indian who came out as a guide from the Notontos, that although most of the Gumilchis have joined with them in the marsh and mires there have remained some old people and one Christian. I ordered that the entrance to the marsh be sounded out, but it was not possible

12: Cook NS29 Yokuts NS29

101, 162, 174, 175, 648, 797

[Since this entire source is concerned with triabl identifications, population distributions, historical reconstruction, history, the relations of the Indians with the Spaniards and other white settlers, and the effects of missionary activities upon the aboriginal population, see category 116, the entire source, for such information. --Analyst]

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 N529 Yokuts N529

[P. 49 B]

THE ABORIGINAL POPULATION

several were translated for Dr. C. H. Merriam. Merriam's translations are on file in his manuscript collection. The citations to these accounts, published and unpublished, are given in the manuscript section of the Bibliography. In this text they are referred to, without further citation, by the author's name and date.

THE TULARE LAKE BASIN

We may commence detailed consideration of the aboriginal population with the Tulare Lake Basin, which was inhabited in 1800 by three Yokuts tribes, the Wowol, Tachi, and Chunut (see maps 1 and 2, area 2). The first official visitor to the area was Father Juan Martin who entered the valley in 1804 in search of new mission sites. He found the principal village of the Wowol, which he called Bubal. This rancheria, he said, contained not less than 200 children. It was visited again in 1806 by Moraga, who found 400 inhabitants. Eight years later Father Cabot passed the site and found 700 people. Subsequently, it was visited by Ortega in 1815 and Estudillo in 1819 but these writers gave no population figures. Since no other village was ever recorded by name in the territory of the tribe, it is safe to assume that there was no other, at least of permanence and reasonably large size.

Gifford and Schenck (1926), in their discussion of the history of the southern valley, conclude that because the village was reported as having 400 persons in 1806 and 700 in 1814 there was a real increase in population during the intervening eight years. This they ascribe to fugitives from the coastal missions who entered the valley as refugees. The opinion expressed by these authors may serve as the starting point for discussion of certain general problems which are encountered in attempting to estimate the aboriginal population of the valley.

In 1804 Martin saw 200 children. If we knew the ratio of children to adults, we could easily compute the total number of inhabitants. The age of "children" was variously estimated in colonial New Spain, indeed all the way from seven to fifteen years. The early California missionaries used approximately fourteen years for males and twelve for females. In 1793, however, the system was standardized for doctrinal purposes. Indians, both gentile and converted, were designated as children if they were under ten years, i.e., in the age bracket from 0 to 9 inclusive. Hence all the clergy conformed to the method in so far as they were able and unless they specified otherwise.

There are certain data available which permit us to estimate rather closely what proportion of the population in California should be regarded as falling within the category of children. Within the missions the annual censuses enable us to compute with accuracy that the individuals under the age of ten years, between the dates 1782 and 1832 averaged 21.4 per cent of the total population (Cook, 1940). This value is relatively high and may not conform to gentile, or aboriginal, conditions. With regard to these we have information from archaeological sources. In the Museum of Anthropology at Berkeley

*161 there are several hundred skeletons excavated from habitation sites in central and northern California, the
● 162 ages of which have been determined and which consti-
192 tute a fair cross section of the native population during the centuries immediately preceding invasion by the white man. Of these skeletons 22.6 per cent represent persons dying under the age of twenty years, and perhaps 10 or 15 per cent persons dying under the age of ten.

*161 Further light is shed by the baptism records of the missions San Jose and Santa Clara (these are discussed
162 in greater detail in a later paragraph) which list gentile
799 baptisms according to village and distinguish between men, women, and children. In the two missions, from approximately 1805 to 1833 there were baptized a total of 5,217 persons from villages in the valley region. Of these 930, or 17.8 per cent were children and 1,939, or 37.1 per cent were listed as men. The sex ratio is 0.826. Evidently the natives captured and brought to the missions do not give us a completely true picture of the composition of the aboriginal population, despite the large sample at our disposal. It is highly probable that (1) the natural sex ratio was nearly unity and (2) many of the men were killed in warfare or escaped the clutches of the convert hunters. Therefore we are justified in setting the number of men equal to that of the women. If we do this, the population represented by the 5,217 conversions was actually 5,626, of which men and women each constituted 41.8 per cent and children 16.4 per cent.

*161 Finally, we have figures from Zalvidea (MS, 1806)
162 with respect to villages at the extreme southern end of the San Joaquin Valley. (These are discussed subsequently in connection with the population of that area.) At two of these, after adjusting for disturbed sex ratio, he found respectively 13.5 and 9.6 per cent children. However, Zalvidea's account states specifically that in these villages he carries the age of childhood only through the seventh year. If he had counted as children those under ten years of age, the percentages would naturally have been higher.

The data just set forth render it abundantly clear that the children constituted between 10 and 20 per cent of the aboriginal population. Since the exact value can never be ascertained, it is wholly reasonable to establish the arbitrary [illegible] of 15 per cent. If we apply this factor to Bubal[illegible] it is not less than an aggregate of 1,333 persons, [illegible]ch greater than the value set by Moraga in 1806.

*161 With respect to the suggestion of Gifford and Schenck
162 that the number of inhabitants of Bubal had been aug-
799 mented between 1806 and 1814 by refugees from the missions the following points may be noted. In the first place, it has been possible to show (Cook, 1940) by means of the mission censuses that in 1815 the cumulative total of fugitives reported by all the missions in the colony amounted to 1,927 persons. Of these a great many who ran away in the earlier years were deceased. Many never went to the valley at all and the remainder were distributed from Sacramento to Bakersfield. It is highly unlikely that as many as 300 would be concentrated at one village such as Bubal. In the second place, the majority of the fugitives who did reach the village or its vicinity were former inhabitants of the locality who were merely returning to their old homes rather than coastal Indians, who would have constituted real refugees. On the whole, therefore, and this conclusion applies throughout the valley, true increase of population by immigration of foreign fugitives was negligible.